3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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643 whom all the land shall look; who shall go to the
645 holy place to pray for us, who shall guard the sacred objects of lordship. Let him be our food and our shield; let his name be mercy for all. I pray to you, chiefs of the past, ye who kill or save alive."

Mulewa, carrying in his hand the "rod of lordship," stands out and looks around on the assembled chiefs. Suddenly he throws the rod at the man selected. Immediately he is seized, with a shout of triumph, "He is our food and our shield." The wailing of his female relatives, who weep as for a dead man, is drowned in the shouting and drumming with which the new Chungu is brought to the sacred house, where he is anointed with lion fat, and seated on the lion skins with which the house is carpeted. In this house are kept all the objects of which he is guardian, the tails of eland, zebra, buffalo, elephant, containing the medicine made from the body of the great snake *inyifwiwa*; skins and heads of lions; ivory, cloth, and the rod of lordship.

643 After about three months of strict seclusion, during which his health is carefully noted, lest, being a weakling, he should be a menace to the land, the new ruler is brought to the dwelling which in the meantime has been built for him, and his reign is fairly begun.

643 The person of Chungu was regarded with extra-
•644 ordinary reverence. He was not approached by the common people, who were not allowed even to see the man who speaks with God. An immense

3; Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
F917 Ngonde F917

enclosure surrounded his dwelling of many houses, where he lived with his wives and slaves, and, always present, some of his councillors. The arrival of visitors was announced by the young men who kept the gate; but only visitors of very high standing were actually admitted to the presence of the chief. If Chungu left the enclosure wearing his crown of black cloth with long streamers, the people hid themselves. When he went on a journey, the older people claimed the right of seeing him, and even saluting him as he passed; the younger were rigorously kept out of the way. When he crossed a river the men who carried him must not allow his feet to touch water, which he himself must never touch with his feet, for a flood would follow which would do much damage to the country.

To maintain his dignity, the chief received taxes in kind. His gardens were hoed, and his houses built, by the people. If an elephant was killed its trunk, and part of the flesh, were brought to him. Buffalo was royal game, and the whole carcase was his; his, too, were skins and tails of lion, leopard, and zebra; tusks of hippopotamus, horns of rhinoceros. Once in two years each chief brought him a young cow; and a portion of all spoils of war in prisoners, cattle, and other things, was his due.

Out of his abundance Chungu gave gifts to favourites or valued servants. He received and entertained distinguished visitors, though not all were admitted to his presence. They arrived with horns blowing and drums beating, the leader shouting,

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1923) 1925
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643 644 "Ha, ha, ha, we go to him who kills and saves alive." On arrival, such as had the honour of a personal interview, received his blessing, "May God be gracious to you"; the visitor lying on his back and clapping hands. At parting, perhaps a month later, he was pressed to stay, but the parting benediction was given: "God be with you. May lion and leopard and hyena, snake and tree and personal enemy, be still before you. May you find your family in health." Then taking water, and spirting it from his mouth, he prayed the spirits to care for the departing guest.

643 The duties and powers of Chungu, as they were in the past, and, in diminished glory and extent, still are, may be briefly stated.

1. First and foremost, Chungu is the man who speaks with God, and offers up the prayers of the community in time of war, pestilence, drought, or famine.

[643] 2. Dreams by the official dreamers were brought to him by the councillors, and measures taken to meet the approaching evil by offerings at the graves of his ancestors, and by personal intercession.

3. After consulting his ancestors, he decided questions of peace or war.

643 645 4. Along with his councillors he heard important lawsuits, and appeals against the decisions of other chiefs.

5. He confirmed in their position subordinate chiefs when recommended by his council to do so.

6. The whole land being his, he gave possessions to

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
F3517 Ngoni-a F3517

new-comers, and drove out undesirables; but always with the concurrence of the council. 643 645

7. He gave periodical feasts to all chiefs and their followers.

8. In general, it was the duty of Chungu to keep the land in peace; but no decision of his was valid without the approval of his council.

In the north, across the Songwe, the failure to attain unity of control had as its natural consequence the failure to attain the same imposing ceremonial as at Kavungu. The chiefs each retained his independence, and what has now to be said applies equally to the independent chiefs of the north, and to those of the south who were at one time under the dominion of Chungu. 643

A convenient starting-point is the installation of the heir and successor of a chief. The installation of Kwikwa, which began on 18th September, and ended on 19th November, 1910, is typical of all, and the description which follows was given to me by himself. 643 644 196

On the appointed day he left his home, and accompanied by eight young men who were to be his subordinate chiefs, and official drummers, and all the young men of his father's principal village, he went to the place which was to be the site of his own village. Three good huts were built for him and the eight young chiefs, and more shelters for the others. The first item in a long ceremonial was the tree-planting. The medicine man took two pots into which he put two *indyiza* (lion-making medicines), and having filled the pots with earth, he planted a young

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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seedling in each, *indola* in one, and *imbandapanda* in the other. Pits to receive the pots were digged by the doctor, and held in position by the two most important of the subordinate chiefs, who, with closed eyes, filled in the soil all around. The two *imbigita* become later the two lions of the young chief. Every chief has these mysterious lions, which are quite harmless except to evil-doers; if any common person creates or controls a lion, it is the duty of these two to slay it. No one may eat food at harvest time until a portion has been set aside for these lions. The two trees in time provide the shade under which the chief's court will sit, and as long as they stand his residence must not be removed from their neighbourhood.

The doctor now took a broom, and swept the dust into the faces of Reuben and his subordinates, praying that the men under them would be in number as the dust of the earth. All the old fires were extinguished, [372] and new fire was made by the young chief and his fellows; at present from two pieces of wood rubbed together, but in the past, the lower was the bone of a leopard or lion specially dried for the purpose. In the old warlike days this fire kindled the courage of the chiefs, but with the peace that has been brought in by the white men such courage is not called for. From the fire thus made, brands were given out to all householders in the district, and no ashes from old fires were allowed to remain in any house.

Next came the great medicine drinking, which was to give authority to the new chiefs. It is indeed a

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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fearsome mixture: ground flesh of *inyi/wira* (the flying serpent); heart and nose of hyena, which enables one to see danger ahead; heart of hawk, giving power to see danger from behind; and heart of the fish-eagle, which swoops down upon its prey. Thus furnished the young rulers can foresee the future, deal with the present, and be a terror to all evil-doers. This powerful medicine is drunk by all chiefs at their installation, and spread under the beds to make them see in dreams what is coming in the future. But never may the chief eat food that is not freshly cooked, for that would take away all virtue even from these potent drugs.

From that time until the 19th November, the young men led a happy, care-free life. Their food was daily provided; cattle were set apart for them; they did not shave all that time, and no girls were allowed to go near them. On the closing day of the ceremonial, the fathers of all the young rulers came and stood at a distance, and the younger brother of Reuben was given a spear with which he knocked on the closed door of the hut in which Reuben and his companions were waiting, and called out, "There is war outside; come out." Immediately all rushed to where the elders were standing, and after greetings, the company formed itself into a boundary commission, to fix the limits of Reuben's authority. Finally, the same day, the new chief was married to the two girls whose offspring will be his successors. They must be daughters of men of note, not cowards in battle, of no reproach in the tribe; and the girls

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938);1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

724 642 a whole against the Bemba and the Ngoni, and that the poverty-stricken divinity of Lubaga was unable to do this for the Nyakyusa.[1] but neither of them gave their people any high degree of unity among themselves.

For, while in both cases the hierarchical organization touched the common people in its religious and ceremonial aspects, in neither case did it much affect their everyday actions. In Ngonde, as we have seen, the wealth of the Kyungu, which he derived from the ivory trade, enabled him and his nobles of Ngonde to bind the other chiefs and nobles to him, in a way that the Lwembe and his hereditary priests could not do across the Songwe. But this wealth only touched the common people slightly and did not much alter the economic organization of the local groups. Nor had Ngonde any other common activities save tribal wars, religious rituals, and the hoeing of the millets.

Horizontal as well as vertical relations must bind social groups together if their autonomy is to be permanently overcome, and in Ngonde, no less than among the Nyakyusa, the horizontal relations between the local groups were weak; while the religious exclusion of the Kyungus weakened the vertical relations also. The constitution of Ngonde consisted of a number of small and primitive local groups, all firmly attached to Mbande, but each one capable of swinging free[2] and of breaking the tenuous horizontal bonds that joined them among themselves.

Now a distinction must be made between these civil wars and the tribal wars with the Bemba and Ngoni. The civil wars point us to the disorder of Ngonde, a disorder which existed in spite of unifying factors; the tribal wars point us to lack of order which was hardly opposed by any unifying factors at all. No doubt there were occasional peaceful contacts between Ngonde and these other tribes, but they were clearly very slight indeed.

7. *POLITICAL CEREMONIAL.*

643 644 In every relationship of life there is some ceremonial expression of feeling. And towards the Kyungus of the middle period their subjects frequently expressed the feelings of worship and terror appropriate to an irascible divinity.

"At Mbande the nobles of Ngonde would sit round praising the Kyungu; the drums went '*hindi! hindi!*' And they would praise him in antiphony: 'O Kyungu!—Great Father! Great Father!—

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[1] The Nyakyusa were attacked both by Ilenge and Ngoni but no tribal alliance was formed to meet these attacks.

[2] In the case of the chiefdoms this exception must be qualified by the intervention of the great chiefs between the local chiefdoms and Mbande, and the ceremonial unifying effect of this fact upon whole groups of chiefdoms.

6 Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 F917 Ngonde F917

Doctor of men!—Great Father! Great Father!—O Mpata!*—Great Father! Great Father!—O Kipoto!*—Great Father! Great Father!—O Kyabala!*—Great Father! Great Father!—O Stroker and Stabber! —Great Father! Great Father!—O Mwanamba!*—Great Father! Great Father!—O Mpatumbumatu!*—Great Father! Great Father! —Dweller in the hot sun!—Great Father! Great Father!—O Fisherman! O Banana-eater!—Great Father! Great Father!'* The general form of this praise-song was identical with that of the prayers in the sacred groves and so it is literally true to say that the nobles of Ngonde worshipped the living Kyungu.

But the majority of their subjects only worshipped from afar in fear and trembling. An Mlondo in ordinary commoner was ever conducted into the sacred enclosure but only the ceremonial nobles and the elder chiefs, and they only occasionally; while when the Kyungu travelled through his country all men save the very oldest fled from his approach: "In former times we commoners never looked on the face of the Kyungu, we feared him far too much. When he journeyed through Ngonde we all used to flee from him, men, women and children; only the very oldest stayed to watch him as he came; and they would fall down and clap their hands in grateful worship."

Even in speech fearful circumlocutions were used to refer to his journeying—"The country is on the move"—"The great hill is moving"—"The mystery is coming." While it was taboo both for the old men who then stayed to see him and for those who entered the sacred enclosure, ever to greet him in the usual way. Falling down and clapping the hands was the only greeting for the Kyungu, never the ordinary "how-do-you-do?" From the nobles and great chiefs men did not flee; but the great chiefs, at least, were greeted by falling down and handclapping, not in the ordinary way.

From the wives of the Kyungu also men fled in terror, fearing lest they be compromised and thrown over the cliff, and this both added to the atmosphere of terror which surrounded him and was an expression of it.

On the other hand the various gifts of the Kyungu to his subjects were, in their ceremonial aspect, an expression of personal relationship to them, of paternal interest in them; and so also the tribute which they brought to him was, in its ceremonial aspect, an expression of filial respect. As in all primitive groups personal rather than impersonal relationships were dominant in the old Ngonde. The Kyungu was

* Names of early Kyungus.
† Archaic words which I do not understand.

[illegible]

[illegible] PEOPLE FEAR THE POWERS OF THE DOCTORS

[illegible] People feared very much because the Lwembe had medicine for sweeping on his body, which could cause rain, sickness, food, storm, anything.

And they feared her they might get storm if they killed one of Lwembe's men 'on the road'—i.e. a traveller. In short, Lwembe's mystical power affected the five feeble beginnings of a 'king's power' in a kind of sapping chiefdom, whose strength was his guns.

(c) Mbwana

Mbwale is a hill on the plain of north Nyamland with a commanding view of the surrounding country and well suited to defence. The west side is precipitous and below the scarp edge there used to be a marsh; to the north the hill is protected by a wide reach of the Lukuli river. It is a sacred place and for many generations was the home of the 'divine king', the Kyungu. Like the Lwembe he was the living representative of a hero, and was selected by a group of hereditary nobles from one of two related lineages, the office alternating (if suitable candidates were available) between the two. They sought a 'big man,' one who had begotten children and whose sons were already married, not a young man for, the nobles said, 'young men always want war, and destroy the country'. He must be a man of wisdom (*yua mutala*) and generous in feeding his people.

The Kyungu's life was governed by taboos even more rigorous than those surrounding the Lwembe. He must not fall ill, or suffer a wound, or even scratch himself and bleed a little, for his ill health, or his blood falling on the earth would bring sickness to the whole country. 'Men feared when Kyungu's blood fell on the ground, they said, "It is his life".' If he had a headache his wives (if they loved him) told him not to mention it, they hid his illness, but if the nobles entered and found him ill they dug the grave and put him in it, saying, "He is the ruler (*mwa*), it's taboo for him to be ill". Then he thought: "Perhaps it is so" (with a gesture of resignation).'

Great precautions were taken to preserve his health. He lived in a separate house with his powerful medicines. His food was prepared by boys below the age of puberty but a menstruating woman, or a youth who had lain with a woman, should touch it and so bring sickness upon him; and his numerous wives were

* Ilyambula mwana. It implies both big physically and important.

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sore round in the belly; people say the earth will go bad in us.' [illegible]
'A child who has drunk medicines will be ill, the smell of the new food or the wet earth goes to the belly.' [illegible]

The chief eats the first fruits and medicines with the commoners who lie down with him at the commencement of his 'coming out' and 'a his wife to mate with him the first fruits and powdered medicines' and is 'fearful' like the medicines. He is identified with the chief's body and may be compared with the *kitheeme* of the Pondo chief[1] or the *inala* of the Swazi.[2] His function is to protect the chief against the medicines themselves.

(c) DEATH AND BURIAL OF A CHIEF

Both because of a chief's descent, and because of his use of medicines, mystical power resides in his body.

In the old days a ruling chief was not allowed to die, but was buried while still living, because they feared that if he became unconscious before death he would take away all the food with him, and great hunger would come on us. Men feared *jingole* medicine in his belly. They said: 'If he dies naturally many of his people will die. . . . He should go alive.' And formerly they buried him with the son of a commoner, also alive, for they said, 'Let him enjoy the company of his sons on the road.' When a chief was sick before the coming out of his sons they tried to keep him alive if possible, but if he was clearly going to die then they buried him like this; after the coming out they lamented his death—but only if he were ill. That was why the chiefs fear the 'coming out' of their sons so greatly. Had Mwaipopo lived in the old days and his hair been alive he would have been buried during his last illness.

When a ruling chief was sick the village headmen sent the chief's wives away and looked after him themselves. Then, if they thought he would, or should, die, they cut off all his nails, those of his toes and those of his fingers, and pulled out his hair, and put them in a pot. After that they buried him by night still alive, with a live person, the child of a commoner whom they had seized very recently. The pot stayed in the house of the senior wife of the chief who had died, and they said, 'It is the chief, we are with him still.' This was the sacred pot for the sacred hair.[3] They kept silence about the death for a month or perhaps two months, saying: 'Let the chief go away first.'

And when a younger brother, a junior chief, died, though he died

[1] M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 390.
[2] H. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 38.
[3] Kaleshi Kaoly denied this, and Agbo, p. 6a.